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tion, of occasional conflict or contradiction among the writers. As above mentioned, the critics have seemed ungenial in their judgments. It is not of so much consequence that the style of Dr. Heath is somewhat exuberant. His good matter adds to our knowledge. All the writers are not equal to Mr. Maitland in his excellent exposition of law, but all contribute something. Likewise, we may never prove exactly whether Celt or Roman chiefly made the England of the fifth century; or just how far Celt and Teuton mingled in the life that followed. It is of greater import to discern and comprehend that larger English life-spirit — greater than race and issuing in new functions of government — that has made Great Britain what it is.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

Ein Ministerium unter Philipp II.; Kardinal Granvella am spanischen Hofe (1579-1586). Von MARTIN PHILIPPSON. (Berlin: Verlag Siegfried Cronbach. 1895. Pp. vii, 642.)

THE story of the sixteenth century will remain incomplete until we possess a history of Philip the Second which shall show him as the central figure in the great political and religious movement of his time. Martin Philippson gives us, in his admirable *Westeuropa im Zeitalter von Philipp II., Elisabeth und Heinrich IV.*, the nearest approach to such a picture. The same author's new book, on *Granvella at the Court of Spain*, forms a most valuable supplement to his previous researches. In preparing this work, Herr Philippson, not content with using the mass of original documents bearing upon his subject which have already been printed, has consulted manuscript sources in Rome, Naples, Simancas, London, Paris, and Brussels. This in itself indicates the universal nature of his theme. He deals with great questions and has thrown a flood of light upon one of the most momentous crises in the history of the world.

The author undertakes to write the history of Philip the Second during Granvella's ministry. In describing the conquest of Portugal, the alliance between Philip and the Guises, the victory of the Counter-reformation in northwestern Germany, and the conspiracy of Mary Stuart and Catholic Europe against England, the book, though covering so short a period, illustrates admirably the great meaning of the whole reign in history.

The purely biographical element is reduced to the lowest possible limit. After a few pages devoted to the career of Granvella before he was called to the head of affairs comes a capital description of the Spain of Philip the Second. Here, and scattered through the whole book, the author gives a great deal of information regarding the wretched state of the economic administration, one of the most potent factors in the sudden, and at first sight inexplicable, decadence of Spain. The description of the king's personality and methods of government is careful and instructive, but fails sufficiently to impress upon the reader

the real greatness of the part that Philip the Second, in spite of foibles and eccentricities, played in the history of the world. It is true that he was struggling against the progress of mankind. He was the mighty champion of a doomed cause. Though the superior forces of a new era frustrated his design, and brought Spain to the verge of ruin, we must not forget that he convulsed Europe in his gigantic efforts to set up a universal monarchy, and that he rescued the Church from the tide of heresy which seemed about to overwhelm it. He must ever stand conspicuous in history as the sombre and awe-inspiring representative of an order of things that was passing away. The result of his reign was to keep the Middle Ages from merging too suddenly into the thought and life of a modern world.

In his new book Philippson emphasizes still more strongly than in his *Westeuropa* the questionable statement that the advent of Granvella marks a complete change in Philip's policy. According to Philippson the king suddenly gives up his policy of peace and reconciliation for one of decided aggression. This change, however, was only external, and was due to a change of circumstances. Philip's designs of Catholic and Spanish supremacy had in reality always been the same.

When he summoned Granvella from Rome to Madrid, Philip was deep in plans for the acquisition of Portugal. He thought Granvella the most suitable adviser in this great enterprise. The king gave him a flattering welcome, and overwhelmed him with marks of his esteem, to the indignation of the jealous Castilians, who hated the mighty cardinal as a foreigner, and finally succeeded in depriving him of his power. Granvella's energetic advice in the Portugal affair met with the king's full approval. He told Philip first to get possession of the country, and then prove to the world the justice of his claims.

The conquest of Portugal involved Spain in most complicated diplomatic relations with Rome, France, and England. All these powers had naturally dreaded this increase of Philip's already enormous empire. France and England aided the Portuguese pretender and the rebellious Low Countries. It was the beginning of the great European struggle which was to end in the defeat of the Armada, the accession of Henry of Navarre to the throne of France, and the independence of Holland. Of all his schemes of universal monarchy the conquest of Portugal was alone successful.

The author follows with great care the long diplomatic quarrel, constantly verging upon open war, between Spain and France, a quarrel which shows Philip the Second to have been not so much a reactionary bigot as an ambitious prince, seeking, above all, the interests of his country. He even carried on negotiations with Henry of Navarre and his ally Montmorency, abandoning them only because the Guises seemed better able to serve his purpose of fomenting civil war in France. The worldly, interested nature of his policy is also revealed in his relations with England and Mary Stuart, which Philippson also describes in great detail. The

Catholic king plays with the unfortunate Queen of Scots, regarding her and the English Catholics not as martyrs to be rescued, but as tools to be kept ready for future use. His vague promises of help served to inspire her with hopes which Philip never meant to fulfil. He was at heart utterly opposed to a European coalition for her rescue. He feared Guise as an ally in such an undertaking because he was a Frenchman. Mary Stuart, too, was half French and Philip was unwilling to waste Spanish gold and Spanish blood at the risk of making England a tributary to France. Not till Mary Stuart bequeathed him her rights to the crown of Great Britain, and the civil war in France made interference from Guise impossible, did Philip decide upon the invasion of England; for not till then was it possible to undertake the conquest for the aggrandizement of Spain alone. As for Mary Stuart, Philippson thinks he has proved beyond reasonable doubt her complicity in Babington's plot to murder Elizabeth.

Even in his policy towards the Pope and the Church, Philip, like his minister, Granvella, was first Spanish, then Catholic. With the aid of his new manuscript material, Philippson describes, with great spirit, several sharp passages of arms between Rome and Madrid illustrative of the king's constant and successful struggle to keep the Church subservient to the State. Philip regarded himself as the secular head of the Catholic world. To him and not to the Pope the Spanish clergy were to look in all but matters of mere belief.

The threads of that reactionary diplomacy by which Philip the Second hoped to bring Europe to his feet extended to Germany, and even to Poland and Scandinavia. The important struggle for the archbishopric of Cologne falls within the period covered by Philippson. The struggle was decided not by the representatives of Protestant and Catholic Germany, whom it most nearly concerned, but by Dutchmen and Spaniards. Philip the Second, and not the emperor, won the victory which restored northwestern Germany to the Holy See.

The great statesman to whose energetic policy Philip's success in Portugal and the Walloon provinces was largely due endeavored, also, to persuade the king to plunge into open war with France and England. Philip, however, was not ready to follow his fiery old counsellor here. After a year or two of office, Granvella's influence suffered a marked decrease. At the time of his death he was prime minister only in name. When the king eventually attempted to carry out Granvella's advice in regard to France and England, he did so with a hesitancy and lack of vigor utterly unlike the aggressive energy of the stout-hearted cardinal, who, if he had gained complete control of affairs, would have greatly postponed the fall of Spain, and might have realized, for a moment, his ideal and that of his old master, Charles the Fifth, — a world empire under the house of Habsburg.

W. F. TILTON.